757 in its later stages it makes sexual intercourse impossible. In the Pangwe region I never encountered the gigantic scrotums that one finds in the Northern Cameroons, for instance. The natives be-
[753] lieve that the disease is caused by worms that ordinarily live in the stomach and are the cause of stomach pains. From the stomach they are supposed to migrate into the scrotum and cause it to swell. Allegedly from the example of the Whites (perhaps
[177] from Nkomakak?), people in a few places have hit upon the idea
● [752] of opening the scrotum and cutting out the swellings. The original treatment, which is still practiced today, is to use the medicines for stomach worms. Recipes for these medicines are as follows.

757 1. bevū́ a ndžík III, scraped bark boiled with raffia palm
278 resin, the water being in part carefully poured off, the rest injected as an enema. At the same time, pieces of bark of Cylicodiscus gabonensis Harms (edūm) and Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk) are placed in a leaf vessel with water; then somebody blows into it with a reed until foam rises. The patient must sit down in the vessel. Both plants contain an acrid sap supposed to drive away the "worms."

2. Illigera pentaphylla Welw. (marū́ mesíh III), ground leaves eaten with salt and pepper.

3. Citrus limonum Risso (alṓs), "because it is bitter and evil-smelling, and so drives away the worms," together with Plagiostyles klainei Pierre (elúlá', from a úúlán, "to loosen" knots), "so that the disease will likewise be loosened," Oncinotis tessmannii Gilg (njém osṓk IV), "because the worms fear the hairs (= the itching)," Brillantaisia lamium Bth. (dzíbe elṓk III), "because the plant is bitter," and Stenochlaena guineensis (Kuhn) Unt. (nkádena' III), all boiled together in a pot with water and then used as an enema. In addition, pieces of bark of Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. et Diels (amvím) slightly boiled and pressed on the stomach.

4. Dioscorea preussii Pax (abá'a), Xylopia nenkeri Engl. et Diels (odžūē), and an herb osá; leaves or pieces of bark ground together, then boiled a little, and the water used as an enema.

When the healing starts, Maesobotrya (mbá'n-afá'n I) dried, ground, and eaten.

8. Cucurbitacea Lepinemon owariensis (Speng.) Hallierf. (nkɔ̃mbwɔ̃ɔ̀e III): leaves ground together with red wood and some water and smeared on the affected places /178/: "a bwɔ̃ɔ̀e (buɔ̃ɔ̀e). break open, the fruit breaks open of its own accord, and in the same way the boil is supposed to break open."

9. Ophiocaulon gracile Harms, Passifloracea (eɲɔ̃k): the leaves are heated over the fire and then pressed on the affected places. The fruit of Ophiocaulon are hollow and burst easily, making a slight noise. "In the same way the boils are supposed to burst open."

10. Conopharyngia brachyantha Stpf. (etɔ̃ɔ̀): the sap of the plant is sprinkled on the boils, "so they run like the milky sap from the Conopharyngia."

11. Desplatsia subericarpa Bocq. (ukɔ̃kût a mɔ̃ɔ̀ɔ̀k III): the contents of the fruit are smeared on with red wood, so the swelling will become as small as the fruit of the Desplatsia subericarpa in comparison to the Desplatsia dewevrei (mɔ̃ɔ̀ɔ̀k I).

12. Euphorbiacea Tragia cordifolia Benth (ɔ̀ɔ̃m): the leaves are pressed on with resin. The leaves burn, and it is hoped thereby to dispel the swelling.

Finally, attempts are also made to remove the swellings by means of external treatments. Thus, the boils are beaten, for example, with the sharp-spiked Acanthus montanus until the blood pours out, and then the wound is covered with the leaves of Dioscorea dumetorum (Kunth) Pax (andɛ̀ɛ̀), or the boils may be cut open with a knife.

Gonorrhea (nkɔ̀ɔ̀k I).

Gonorrhea is supposed to be indigenous to the Pangwe region, but it is quite infrequent in the untouched interior. In Yaoundé /Ma., in German, Jaunde/, on the other hand, and in the vicinity of the coast, under the influence of "civilization," it is very widespread. The cure of gonorrhea is attempted mainly by internal medicines. For instance, a watery solution of the Conopharyngia (etɔ̃ɔ̀) is drunk so the gonorrhea will "flow out," or one may drink a bark extract from Heisteria parvifolia Sm., Placourtiacea

757 278 resin of Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (), which kills the parasites that might have stayed in the flesh, is smeared on them.

The medicines for lice () were given in Volume I, page 188.

An effective emetic, which, however, is rarely used, is supplied by Microglossa volubilis D.C. () I). The leaves are ground and steeped in water, and the water is then drunk.

An infusion of the bark of the Olacacea Strombosiopsis congolensis de Wildem. (, from , "to close") is supposed to have a constipating effect; it is used cold as an enema. An infusion of is supposed to have the same effect.

As a laxative Canis occidentalis L. () is used, the leaves being ground and put in cold water, and this is drunk; furthermore, young shoots from the Rubiacea Urophyllum /182/ callicarpoides H. () III) are ground in water, and this liquid is used as an enema; finally the root of Phyxedra longipes Hook f. () is steeped in cold water, and the liquid used as an enema.

● 752 136 One rarely hears anything about snake bites in the Pangwe region. Despite the fairly large number of species of these reptiles, there are only a few whose bite is almost always deadly. These include Bitis nasicornis Shaw () IV Ntum) and Naja melanoleuca Hall. (, "black snake"). Those whose bite frequently leads to death include Naja guentheri Sig. (). Atheris squamiger Hall. () IV), and two Thrasops species, Thrasops flavigularis Hall. () III) and Thrasops aethiops Günth. () III). All other species, even if some of them are poisonous, are little if at all feared since their poison is not fatal and can be made ineffectual by medicines. The varying effect of snake bites has given rise to the belief that those who die from them had been engaged in sorcery the night before (I, that is, one who must die), whereas the others did not (I, that is, one who shall live).

752 278 In the treatment of snake bites the principal role is played by a stone concerning which I was unable to discover any further details. In addition, the leaves of the Urticacea Pouzolzia guineensis Benth () III) or of Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. ()) are ground in water, and with this the wounds are washed; or the sap of the Gumifera Harunga paniculata (Pers.) Lodd. () -- which is also used when goats are castrated -- is dripped into the wounds.

A preventive device consists of a brass ring worn on the left thumb, the ring having first been given curative powers by the medicine man through certain ceremonies, for instance, by boiling it in medicines.

If someone is stung by a scorpion, his urine is applied to the spot, something that the Pangwe ordinarily do not do with wounds. Later, they attempt to dispel the morbid matter by evil smells; for instance, a leaf with vaginal slime is placed on the wound. The explanation by the informant ran as follows in the best coastal English (1):

> 1. In order to avoid misunderstandings it should be emphasized that my Pangwe people gave their reports in their own language, but that their statements were checked with the help of an English-speaking interpreter.

Bumbo	be	bad	ting,		dem	smell, he
Vagina	is	bad	thing,	(namely.)	the	smell, it

come de!
comes out.

An injured foot is put in water in which stalks of Palisota pecumiana (ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀) have been pounded to bits, or heated leaves of the calabash (nɔ̀ɔ̀ IV), together with oil, are rubbed on the injury, "because the calabash has a bad smell."

The very painful puncture made by the spiny-finned sheatfish (bɔ̀ŋkɔ̀ŋ IV), for instance, Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.) (ŋɔ̀ŋ I) pictured on Plate 9 of Volume I, for whose dorsal /183/ spikes the fisherman has great respect, is made harmless by tying a rope tightly around the arm and then holding the spot over the fire.

The Pangwe combat wasp and bee stings with Hecheria subpetiata (Wild) Kumth (ɛ̀bɛ̀'ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀).

Bullets, that is, the pieces of iron with which the rifle is loaded and which, due to the aimless firing practiced by the Pangwe

752 find their way into the bodies of fighting companions, are removed
218 by incision. The sap of Landolphia ochracea K. Sch. (ayôn) is then trickled over the wounds, and they are rubbed with oil containing leaves of Chaunlia afzelii (Hk.) K. Sch., Rubiaceae (dzi a ndzik III), or they are washed out with water containing ground leaves of Sarcocephalus sambucinus (K. Sch.) C.W. (alômâ).

[574] In the case of cut wounds, which occur quite often either during the frequent scuffles with bush knives or as a result of carelessness while clearing the jungle, the wound is covered with the leaves of Cissus vogelii Hook f. (mbôngwokôm I) mixed with cooked water, or the sap from the twigs of Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub (mvôl IV Fang) is dripped into the wounds, or they are covered with bark scraped from Amphimas letouzeyi Harms (ndâl) or the rind of the roots of the Menispermacea Jateorhiza strigosa Miers (ndâl bengôl I, IV). In the treatment of wounds the following are also used: a Sterculiacea (nkûl a bôk) (leaves ground in water); Combretum mucronatum Thonn. et Schum. (nvingôk III) (leaves ground in the same manner); Calanchiamya klaveinfurthii Gilg., Loganiacea (nthgôk-nôk); and Adenia mannii Harms (ndôk ndzik III). Furthermore, Phaseolus lunatus L. (nkôlôbo III), the ground leaves put in a leaf bag, and the latter pressed out over the wound; finally, Trichoscypha (nkôn mvegôr), pieces of whose bark are boiled and then decanted lukewarm onto the wound. Likewise Dorypetalum tessmannii Harms (mvôlôbo).

In the case of burns, ground leaves of Combretum lawsonianum Engl. et D. (nkôkôbôk III) and Combretum latialatum Engl. (mbôk I) are applied to the wounds with some water.

About a dozen medicines are known for sprains (ndôk ge) and fractures. In the case of the former, the treatment consists of heating a bundle of the medicinal plant over the fire and then pressing it to the painful areas. Fractures are put into splints with
[259] firmly tied raffia leaflets strips.

For tumors (ntôn) the bark of the Euphorbiacea Cyclomeresus tessmannianus Pax (mvôbo ôl III) is used. The tree itself has excrescences on its bark; the latter is removed from the tree, dried, and chewed. Then incisions are made into the tumor, and the saliva

752 are rubbed into them. In this case it is clear that the view the
278 natives have of powers of healing is not free of contradiction and confusion. The excrescence on the tree is /194/ natural, that on the person unnatural. By incorporating the tree's natural excrescence in the form of ashes, they hope to induce the human growth to return to its natural shape, that is, to become smooth, while in actual fact one would expect the person to get a swelling from this.

752 For bandages the Pangwe usually use strips of dried banana leaf sheaths. In the case of finger and toe injuries, a small halved calabash, fastened with a string around the joint, is slipped on as a cover (Plate 25).

600 Medicines for impotence, sexual stimulants, devices to influence the woman's sexual life (menstruation, pregnancy, birth) will be treated later (Section 18).

5. Food Prohibitions

262 Pangwe life is dominated by a number of rules which they call
789 beki (from eki). These, in the main, prescribe that certain actions shall not be performed at certain times and that certain foodstuffs are to be avoided either at all times or only at certain times. The most important rules are the latter, the food prohibitions. The following are distinguished: 1) eki, bebin = taboo for those not initiated into cults, or eki, bonenga = taboo for women, who are uninitiated as regards the men's cults; 2) eki, bongun = taboo for the initiated of the cults, in practice usually of the women's cults; 3) eki-bonɛ̃ŋ'mɔ̃n = taboo for young, vigorous persons, and the forbidden animals are called dibm; 4) eki, abɔ̃m =
262 taboo for the belly, that is, the prohibition of certain animals at
789 the time of pregnancy, or eki, mɔ̃n = taboo because of the child,
943 that is, food taboos for the duration of the pregnancy and nursing the child, a period during which the taboo applies both to the mother and the father, a consequence of the opinion held by the Pangwe that the woman -- as it is always put -- has the lover or husband "in her belly," that is, that the developing fruit is actually

[Text continues on page 60]

2: Tessmann--39 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

/Facing 184/ Plate XXV

341
192
241
192

Fang with a "cover" on his Toe.

767 Magic appears to be a technique for making use of the strength, nvi, contained in every element of the universe /création/, which everyone has more or less the capacity, ngui, to employ. Elementary magic is taught within the family, advanced magic /is taught/ in associations, by experienced practitioners and also, nowadays, through /120/ correspondence with European charlatans. All initiations include a course in magic, all associations possess a body of specialists.

767 Divination, nvi'i, and medicine, mbôan mebiaŋ, are to magic
769 in general what in Europe the special branches are to general medicine. Every ngengaŋ is a diviner and physician, but he may consult a colleague more specialized in one of those branches.

Everyone learns from childhood on to interpret everyday omens, which are mostly taken from "zoomancy:" the flight or song of certain birds, meeting certain animals in certain circumstances, etc. The interpretation of the movements of the victim of a family sacrifice, the akôp spider oracle, asking the advice of ancestors by means of the narcotic herb alaŋ, (Iboga), require that /a person/ be already initiated. Oracles by water, sand or gravel, or conducting minkal tests require much deeper knowledge.

757 The same holds for medicine. Everyone knows the ordinary mebiaŋ, but for serious cases people must turn to a mbibiaŋ. The word bôan, usually translated "medicament," "greegree," even "fetish," indicates not only the drug, a pharmaceutical product, but also the whole of a magical act, including the chanting and dancing associated with it for grave illnesses. Pharmacopoeia and therapy proper, to some extent investigated by Baudre, Weber, and Chabeuf in the Cameroons and by Gaceón in Spanish Guinea, are or were quite copious. Not only did the mbibiaŋ know many substances with a mainly vegetable base, but they also knew how to perform several surgical operations
762 —reduction of fractures and dislocations, incision and drainage of deep abscesses, amputations, excision of certain tumors, and perhaps trepanning. But obviously there was a great deal of pure magic mixed up with this practical medicine, and the majority of mebiaŋ, if they had a therapeutic effect, owed it largely to psychosomatic reactions—which is not peculiar to Fabouin medicine.

771 Aside from medicine and divination and the combating of sorcerers, the essential role of the ningengaŋ consisted of influencing the shaping of the destiny of the group or of the individuals, if not in controlling their destiny. The powers of high initiates to some extent